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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 5930

GENEVA FOR CSCE

.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CA

SUBJ: CANADIAN PRIME MINIS TRUDEAU'S MEETING WITH NORTH

ATLANTIC COUNCIL

BEGIN SUMMARY: PRIME MINNISTER TRUDEAU DEFTLY TURNED HIS OCTOBER 24 MEETING WITH NAC INTO A CONSTRUCTIVE AND FAR-RANGING SEMINAR ON ALLIANCE PROBLEMS. HE DISCARDED HIS PREPARED SPEAKING NOTES AND ADDRESSED COUNCIL EXTEMPORANEOUSLY, THUS ENCOURAGING PERMREPS TO DO THE SAME. CERTAIN COMMON THEMES EMERGED FROM ENSUING DISCUSSION: A) RECOGNITION OF THE ALLIANCE'S NEED TO DEAL WITH THE URGENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING IT; B) NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN STRONG DEFENSES IN ERA OF DETENTE; C) NEED TO GIVE YOUNG PEOPLE A CONVINCING RATIONALE FOR DEFENSE SPENDING; D) ALLIED HOPE CANADA WILL MAINTAIN OR STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSE EFFORTS AND TROOP PRESENCE
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IN EUROPE. AS A PRINCIPAL REASON FOR MAINTAINING A NATO ROLE, TRUDEAU STRESSED CANADA'S DESIRE TO DIVERSIFY ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS AND REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON THE U.S. HE GAVE NO ASSURANNCES ABOUT FUTURE CANADIAN DEFENSE SPENDING, BUT

INTIMATED THAT IF ALLIES DO MORE IN THIS FIELD THIS WOULD HELP CANADIAN EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AN ADEQUATE POSTURE. MANY ALLIES COMMENTED THAT TRUDEAU'S PRESENCE AT NATO WAS SIGNIFICANT ENDORSEMENT OF CANADA'S ROLE IN THE ALLIANCE. INTERESTING SIDELIGHT OF MEETING WAS THAT NEW GREEK PERMREP THEODOROPOILOS SEEMED TO GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO INVITE THE COUNCIL TO DISCUSS QUESTION OF GREEK DISASSOCIATION FOR INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS WELCOMED PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU AND RECALLED THEY HAD LAST SEEN EACH OTHER AT THE CONCIL'S MINISTERIAL MEETING AT OTTAWA IN JUNE. SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THE ALLIANCE, THE SYG CONTINUED, CANADA HAD PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN NATO AFFAIRS, AND THIS WAS SYMBOLIZED IN THE PERSON OF LESTER PEARSON. CANADA'S PRESENCE IN THE ALLIANCE ILLUSTRATES THE MEANING OF THE NATO PARTNERSHIP I.E., ITS ATLANTIC NATURE.

2. LUNS REFERRED TO TRUDEAU'S SPEECH TO THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL IN OTTAWA IN WHICH THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER HAD CALLED FOR A POSITIVE DEDICATION TO DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND HAD NOTED THAT THE COMFORTABLE ASSUMPTIONS OF THE PAST NO LONGER WERE SO CERTAIN. SUCH UNDER- TAINTY, SAID LUNS, CAN RESULT IN A LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN NATO ON THE PART OF PUBLIC OPINION AND THUS LEAD US TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE IDEALS ON WHICH THE ALLIANCE IS FOUNDED. THE ALLIANCE HAS PROTECTED US FOR 25 YEARS, BUT CAN CONTINUE TO DO SO ONLY IF THE ALLIES ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE NECESSARY BURDENS. THERE IS A NEED TODAY TO STABLIZE THE ECONOMIES OF OUR COUNTRIES, BRING INFLATION UNDER CONTROL AND MAINTAIN ECONOMIC GROWTH. THESE EFFORTS MUST SUCCEED IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE THE DEMO- CRATIC FREEDOMS WHICH MAKE OUR SOCIETIES A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO COMMUNISM OR ANY OTHER FORM OF TOTALITARIANISM.

3. PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD NOT READ FROM THE PREPARED NOTES HE HAD BROUGHT, SINCE THEY WOULD MERELY REPEAT WHAT HE HAD ALREADY SAID FOUR MONTHS PREVIOUSLY IN OTTAWA AND CONFIDENTIAL

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WHAT SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS HAD JUST STATED. INSTEAD, HE SUGGESTED A DIALOGUE OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AROUND THE TABLE.

4. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT WHAT COUNTS MOST FOR CANADIANS IS FREEDOM AND THAT FREEDOM CAN BE MAINTAINED ONLY IF WE ACCEPT ITS CHALLENGES. HE CONGRATULATED THE NATO COUNCIL FOR HAVING AVOIDED THE DANGER OF PARALYSIS IN THE DELIERATION AND NOTED THAT CONSULTATION HAD CREATED A "WAY OF THINKING" WHICH SPILLED OVER INTO OTHER FORA IN WHICH THE ALLIES WORKED TOGETHER TOWARD COMMON AIMS, SUCH AS IN GENEVA AND VIENNA. TRUDEAU PAID TRIBUTE

TO THE IMPORTANT ROLE PLAYED BY SYG LUNS CITING IN PARTICULAR HIS ACTION IN THE UK/ICELANDIC FISHERIES DISPUTE. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM DEMONSTRATES THAT THERE CAN BE SERIOUS PROBLEMS AMONG ALLIES WHICH THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO SOLVE. TRUDEAU ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER THERE IS NOT SOMETHING AMISS IN AN ALLIANCE THAT CANNOT SOLVE SUCH PROBLEMS AND CONCLUDED THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES WILL NOT SUPPORT NATO UNLESS IT IS CONVINCED OF THE ALLIANCE'S EFFECTIVENESS.

5. SYG LUNS THANKED THE PRIME MINISTER FOR HIS REMARKS AND NOTED THAT TRUDEAU HAD HIGHLIGHTED WHAT WAS AT THE HEART OF THE ALLIANCE'S ACTIVITY, I.E., THE HABIT OF CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS. THE SYG ADDED THAT THE ALLIANCE CANNOT ALWAYS PREVENT SITUATIONS WHICH ENDANGER ITS COHESION, BUT THOSE PROBLEMS CAN NEVERTHELESS BE DISCUSSED AND PERSONAL RELATIONS AMONG THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE MEMBER COUNTRIES CAN REMAIN EXCELLENT DESPITE CONTROVERSY.

6. BELGIAN PERMREP (DE STAERCKE) SAID TRUDEAU'S VISIT WAS A TANGIBLE SIGN OF ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY. DE STAERCKE AFFIRMED THAT THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO DEFEND THE CONCEPT OF A WAY OF LIFE AND CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THIS TASK WAS A VITAL ONE. DE STAERCKE REMARKED THAT CANADA WAS SOME 350 TIMES LARGER IN AREA THAN BELGIUM, BUT THE TWO COUNTRIES NEVERTHELESS HAD THE SIMILAR PROBLEM OF HAVING TO COEXIST WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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LARGER NEIGHBORS.

7. DE STAERCKE NOTED THAT DURING THE FIRST DECADE OF THE ALLIANCE'S EXISTENCE, THE EMPHASIS HAD BEEN ON COMMON DEFENSE; IN THE SECOND DECADE, THERE HAD BEEN THE DOUBLE EMPHASIS ON DEFENSE AND DETENTE, ALTHOUGH THE FORMER REMAINED MORE IMPORTANT; TODAY, IN THE THIRD DECADE, THE ALLIANCE STILL HAS THE DUAL CONCERN OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE, THOUGH THE ACCENT IS NOW ON THE LATTER. DE STAERCKE ASKED THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER HOW HE THOUGHT THE ALLIANCE COULD CONTINUE MAKING THE NECESSARY DEFENSE EFFORTS AT A TIME WHEN DETENTE HAD ERODED THE PERCEPTION OF THE SOVIET THREAT IN THE PUBLIC'S MIND. DE STAERCKE CONTINUED THAT THE INTERRELATED PROBLEMS OF INFLATION AND THE ENERGY CRISIS WERE APPARENTLY HAVING MORE SEVERE EFFECTS IN EUROPE THAN NORTH AMERICA, AND THAT PUBLIC CONCERN WITH THESE PRESSING PROBLEMS WAS DETRACTING FROM ATTENTION TO THE LONGER-TERM ISSUES WITH WHICH THE ALLIANCE MUST DEAL. THIS RAISED THE QUESTION OF HOW TO DEAL WITH THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN THE LIVE OF THE ALLIANCE BUT WHICH DO NOT FALL WITHIN THE TERMS OF THE TREATY. AS A RESULT OF ALLIED INABILITY TO DEAL WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, THE USSR WAS STRENGTHENING ITS POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE ALLIANCE AND THE NATO COUNTRIES RISKED WEAKENING THEMSELVES FURTHER THROUGH

DIVISIONS AMONG THEMSELVES. DE STAERCKE RECALLED THAT ARTICLE 11 OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION SOUGHT TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST, BUT HE REGRETTED THAT

THE ALLIANCE HAD NOT YET FOUND A FORUM FOR TACKLING ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

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8. PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU SAID THAT THE APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN DEFENSE AND DETENTE MIGHT BE A PARADOX IN LOGIC, BUT THAT CANADIAN EXPERIENCE INDICATED THAT IT CAN SOMETIMES BE RESOLVED IN PRACTICE. HE AGREED WITH THE BELGIAN PERMREP THAT OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS THE WESTERN PUBLIC'S PERCEPTION OF DANGER FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES WAS NO LONGER AS STRONG AS IT HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY. THE MAIN REASON CANADA IS IN THE ALLIANCE IS NOT FEAR OF IMMINENT WAR, BUT RATHER BECAUSE MEMBERSHIP IS ADVANTAGEOUS TO CANADA. OTTAWA HAD DECIDED TO DIVERSIFY ITS CONTACTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, SO AS TO LESSEN ITS DEPENDENCE ON THE UNITED STATES (WHICH HE LIKENED TO "SLEEPING WITH AN ELEPHANT.") ALTHOUGH REJECTING NEUTRALISM, CANADA SOUGHT A COUNTERWEIGHT TO U.S. POWER. CANADIAN DEFENSE EFFORTS IN NATO SHOULD BE SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT AND THUS ARE NOT IN CONTRADICTION WITH A DESIRE FOR DETENTE.

9. TURNING TO SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS' REMARK ABOUT THE NEED FOR THE ALLIES TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH THEIR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS,
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TRUDEAU SAID THAT THE WEST IS PRESENTLY SUFFERING FROM THE EXCESSES OF THE FREEDOM OF THE MARKET SYSTEM. THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE SUFFEREING FROM A LACK OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND THE RESULTING INEFFICIENCY OF THEIR ECONOMIES. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE SOVIETS ARE FALLING EVER FURTHER BEHIND THE WEST TECHNOLOGICALLY. IN THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW, THE SOVIET BLOC IS WORSE OFF IN THE LONG TERM THAN THE WEST BECAUSE THE "GERM OF LIBERTY," THE BASIS OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, IS FEARED BY THE COMMUNIST REGIMES AS A THREAT TO THEIR CONTROL OVER THEIR SOCIETIES.

10. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR (DE ROSE) SAID MR. TRUDEAU IS FORTUNATE IN HAVING ARGUMENTS OTHER THAN ONES OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE WHICH CAN BE USED TO JUSTIFY THE ALLIANCE IN THE EYES OF CANADIAN PUBLIC OPINION. HERE IN EUROPE, HE SAID, IN THE ERA OF DETENTE, AT A TIME WHEN NATIONS ARE BESET WITH A HOST OF OTHER PROBLEMS--ENERGY, FINANCE, PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD WORLD, ETC.--SECURITY JUSTIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE ARE INCREASINGLY MORE DIFFICULT FOR STATEMENT TO DEFEND. DE ROSE NOTED THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS IDENTIFIED THESE NEWER PROBLEMS AS ONES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED ON A WORLD-WIDE RATHER THAN NATIONAL LEVEL, AND THEREFORE THEY ARE DIFFICULT TO TACKLE BECAUSE WE ONLY HAVE THE BENEFIT OF LESSONS LEARNED IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS. DE ROSE CONTINUED SAYING THAT SINCE THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA AND VIENNA, INCLUDING SALT NEGOTIATIONS, ARE ESSENTIALLY DIPLOMATIC IN CHARACTER, THE ALLIANCE IS COMPETENT TO DEAL WITH THEM. OWEVER, MANY OF THESE NEW ENERGY AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS ARE ONES WITH WHICH THE ALLIANCE HAS NEITHER THE COMPETENCE NOR CAPACITY TO DEAL.

11. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IDENTIFIED ANOTHER EUROPEAN FACET OF THIS PROBLEM. HE SPECULATED IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT THE U.. AND USSR MIGHT REACH SOME FORM OF MEANINGFUL ACCORD IN SALT. IF SO, THIS WOULD BRING A HIGH DEGREE OF STABILITY AND IT INDEED WOULD HAVE A MOST FAVORABLE INFLUENCE ON PROBLEMS EUROPE FACES. BUT, HE SAID, EVEN SUCH AN ACCORD WON'T SOLVE ALL THE BASIC SECURITY PROBLEMS OF EUROPE. RETURNING TO THE ANIMAL ANALOGY, DE ROSE SAID THAT WHILE EUROPE DOES NOT SLEEP NEXT TO AN ELEPHANT, IT DOES HAVE A BEAR AT ITS DOORSTEP--ABEAR WHOSE SMILE REVEALS TEETH THAT GIVES ONE AN IMPRESSION OTHER THAN REASSURING.

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12. FOR EUROPE, HE SAID, THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY CAN ONLY BE SOLVED WITH THE PRESENCE IN EUROPE REPEAT IN EUROPE OF UNITED STATES TROOPS. THESE TROOPS ARE NECESSARY TO TRIGGER THE WHOLE NET OF ALLIANCE DEFENSE CAPABILITY SHOULD THAT BECOME NECESSARY. THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE THUS JUSTIFIES THE EXISTENCE OF THE ALLIANCE. THE OTTAWA DECLARATION CLEARLY IDENTIFIED THIS TRUISM. IF EUROPE SHOULD SLIP INTO NEUTRALITY THE WHOLE BALANCE OF THE WORL WOULD BE SHATTERED.

13. DE ROSE CONCLUDED BY RETURNING TO TRUDEAU'S THEME OF FREE MAN AND FREE SOCIETIES. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR NOTED THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS BECAUSE IT IS MADE UP ENTIRELY OF FREE SOCIETIES. THE SAME SPIRIT OF FREEDOM HOWEVER MAKES CONSULTATIONS THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO CONDUCT, BUT THIS IS A PRICE WE MUST PAY.

14. AMBASSADOR ERALP (TURKEY) DREW AN ANALOGY BETWEEN THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF CANADA ON THE EXTREME NORTHWESTERN TIP OF THE ALLIANCE AND TURKEY IN THE FAR SOUTHEAST. ERALP PRAISED TRUDEAU'S REMARKS ON CONSULTATIONS SAYING THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESENCE INFUSED NEW VIGOR INTO THE PROCESS OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS.

15. IN A BRIEF BUT POINTED STATEMENT ON CYPRUS, ERALP SAID THAT FOR LAST 10 YEARS HIS COUNTRY HAD TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO BRING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM INTO THE COUNCIL FOR CONSULTATIONS. HE SAID, "WE DID NOT START THE CHAIN OF EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE PRESENT SITUATION. HOWEVER, "HE CONTINUED, WE WOULD LIKE TO FINISH THE CHAIN OF EVENTS IN A PEACEFUL MANNER."

16. TURNING TO DETENTE, HE SAID THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY ARE ANXIOUS LEST THE DESIRE FOR PROGRESS TOWARD IT ON THE PART OF PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE ALLIANCE LEAD TO THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO BEAR NECESSARY DEFENSE BURDENS. HE THEREFORE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE ITS PRESENT LEVEL OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, INCREASING THEM IF POSSIBLE.

17. ERALP CONCLUDED ON A NOTE OF ADMIRATION FOR THE CANADIAN PEOPLE WHO, HAVE MADE SUCH SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS IN WORLD WARS I AND II. SIMILARLY, HE ADMIRERD THE PEACEKEEPING
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CONTRIBUTIONS OF CANADA, A COUNTRY WHICH SEEMS TO BE CALLED UPON FOR EVERY PEACEKEEPING CHORE, DESPITE ITS MEMBERSHIP IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE.
MC AULIFFE

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18. NORWEGIAN PERMREP BUSCH SIMILARLY SPOKE OF NORWAY'S GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION, POINTING TO ITS COMMON BORDER WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS EXPOSED POSITION ON THE NORTHERN FLANK. IN THIS CONNECTION HE CITED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED CANADIAN TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE, SAYING THAT AN INCREASE IN THE CANADIAN TROOPS PRESENCE WOULD BE A MOST WELCOME DEVELOPMENT.

19. UK PERMREP PECK NOTED THAT IN THE ALLIANCE, CANADA FREQUENTLY FINDS ITSELF AS "ODD MEMBER OUT," NOT BEING EUROPEAN, NOR A MEMBER OF THE NINE, NOR A MEMBER OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK, AND NOT WISHING TO BE CONFUSED WITH THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, CANADA HAS TURNED THIS DISADVANTAGE TO AN ADVANTAGE FOR HERSELF AND THE OTHER ALLIES. FOR EXAMPLE, PECK SAID WHEN MEMBERS BELONGING TO THE EC-NINE STARTED TO CAUCUS AT NATO HEADQUARTERS, IT WAS CANADA WHO FREQUENTLY CHALLENGED THEM TO MAKE THEIR POSITIONS CLEAR AND TO EXPLAIN THEM IN THE LIGHT OF THE INTERESTS OF OTHER ALLIES.
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20. PECK THEN TURNED TO THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATIONS; SAYING HE FOUND GREAT VIRTUE IN THE FREEDOM TO ARGUE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF VARIOUS ALLIANCE COMMITTEES. BUT ONCE COMMON POSITIONS ARE THRASHED OUT, HE ADMIRER HOW WELL ALLIES CONTINUE TO HOLD THOSE POSITIONS VIS-A-VIS OUTSIDERS. HE CITED ALLIED AGREED CSCE AND MBFR POSITIONS AS EXAMPLES AND CONCLUDED THAT THE ALLIANCE HOLDS UP VERY WELL IN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS OF THE SORT.

21. PECK TOO EMPHASIZED THAT DETENTE MUST BE BACKED BY A CREDIBLE DEFENSE EFFORT AND THAT SUCH DEFENSE EFFORT MUST BE SUPPORTED BY THE PURSES OF THE PEOPLE.

22. PECK THEN MADE MENTION OF PARA 13 OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION WHICH CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING ALLIANCE LINKS WITH PARLIAMENTARIANS. IN THAT CONNECTION, HE NOTED THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY (NAA) WILL BE MEETING IN LONDON NEXT MONTH, AND THAT THIS MEETING OFFERS AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE SORT OF CONTACT WITH

PARLIAMENTARIANS THAT IS RECOMMENDED IN THE OTTAWA DECLARATION.

23. ITALIAN PERMREP CATALANO MADE BRIEF REMARKS STRESSING THE GEOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF ITALY'S LOCATION AND HE GENERALLY ECHOED STATEMENTS OF OTHERS ON DEFENSE AND DETENTE.

24. MCAULIFFE (U.S.) JOINED OTHERS IN WELCOMING PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU NOTING THIS IS ONLY THE THIRD TIME A HEAD OF GOVERNMENT HAD ADDRESSED THE COUNCIL. HE SAID THE UNITED STATES HOPES OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WILL COME TO MEET WITH THE COUNCIL SO THAT FROM TIME TO TIME THE BODY COULD MEET IN "REINFORCED SESSION." MCAULIFFE, NOTING NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO ANIMALS, SAID THAT IF THE U.S. WAS TO BE LIKENED TO AN ELEPHANT, HE HOPED THAT OUR BEHAVIOR WOULD BE SEEN BY OTHERS AS BENEVOLENT AND LIKEABLE AS, FOR EXAMPLE "BABAR."

25. MCAULIFFE SAID ALTHOUGH HE HAD NEVER SERVED IN CANADA, HE HAD SPENT SEVERAL YEARS IN MEXICO. HE RECALLED THAT MEXICO REFERRED TO THE UNITED STATES AS "THE COLOSSUS TO THE NORTH." ONCE WHEN HE WAS THERE, A PARTICULARLY NASTY DISPUTE DEVELOPED
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BETWEEN GUATEMALA AND MEXICO AND HE RECALLED HOW THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT WAS CHAGRINED WHEN A GUATEMALA SPOKESMAN REFERRED TO MEXICO AS "THE COLOSSUS TO THE NORTH."

26. REFERRING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROCEEDING WITH DETENTE AND MAINTAINING A CREDIBLE DETERRENCE, MCAULIFFE POINTED OUT THAT A VITAL ELEMENT OF THAT DETERRENCE IS THE PRESENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE. HE SAID THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THE SIGNIFICANT CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THAT NORTH ATLANTIC PRESENCE. MAINTENANCE OF CANADIAN TROOPS ON THE CONTINENT HELPS THE UNITED STATES IN TIMES OF PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE TO MAINTAIN THE TRANS-ATLANTIC BOND AND NEEDED US TROOP LEVELS.

27. MCAULIFFE THEN REFERRED TO A LETTER SYG LUNS HAD RECENTLY CIRCULATED ON THE SUBJECT OF STRENGTHENING LINKS BETWEEN THE NAA AND NATO. THE CONTENTS OF THIS LETTER WILL BE DISCUSSED BY THE COUNCIL ON OCTOBER 30 AT WHICH TIME MEMBERS WILL EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE WHOLE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING ALLIANCE LINKS WITH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE ALLIANCE. MCAULIFFE ASKED IF PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEBATE IN ADVANCE BY SHARING HIS VIEWS ON HOW THE ALLIANCE COULD ENLIST THE SUPPORT NOT ONLY OF THE PUBLIC BUT ALSO OF THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES WHO MUST NOT ONLY PROVIDE FUNDS AND OTHER FORMS OF SUPPORT FOR THE ALLIANCE BUT WHO MUST ALSO PROVIDE DOMESTIC POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

28. GREEK AMBASSADOR (THEODOROPOULOS) LIKENED THE SPIRIT AND

MORAL DIMENSIONS OF CANADA TO ITS GEOGRAPHIC SIZE. THEODOROPOULOS, COMMENTING ON HIS RECENT ARRIVAL ON THE ALLIANCE, SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO FIND IT WAS NOT A CLUB OF SMUG AND COMPLACENT PEOPLE, BUT RATHER A FORUM IN WHICH ALLIES ARE THEMSELVES ASKING DIFFICULT QUESTIONS ABOUT DETENTE, ABOUT THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ECONOMIC QUESTIONS WITH DEFENSE EFFORTS, AND ABOUT THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF CONSULTATIONS.

29. THEODOROPOULOS SAID AT THIS MOMENT HIS COUNTRY IS ENGAGED IN DEEP SOUL SEARCHING. HE KNEW MANY ALLIES THOUGHT IT STRANGE THAT AT THE VERY TIME WHEN GREECE EMERGED FROM A FAIRLY LONG PERIOD OF MILITARY RULE TO RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, SHE CHOSE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE MILITARY SIDE OF THE ALLIANCE. CONFIDENTIAL

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REPEATING THAT HIS COUNTRY WAS UNDERGOING A PERIOD OF AGONIZING REAPPRAISAL, HE REPEATED THE ANOMALY OF THESE TWO ACTS AND SAID "THIS IS THE TYPE OF FRANK AND OPEN QUESTION WHICH SHOULD BE EXAMINED IN THE COUNCIL." (COMMENT: HE SEEMED TO GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO REPEAT THIS INVITATION TO DISCUSS IN THE COUNCIL THE QUESTION OF GREEK DISASSOCIATION FROM INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. END COMMENT) THE GREEK REP CONCLUDED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR THE CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN CYPRUS.

30. AMBASSADOR SVART (DENMARK) PICKED UP AND ENDORSED TRUDEAU'S REMARKS ABOUT THE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL STRENGTH OF THE WEST VS THE EAST. BUT, HE SAID, HE COULD ONLY SHARE TRUDEAU'S OPTIMISM UNDER CONDITIONS WHERE DEFENSE AND DETENTE WOULD CONTINUE TO GO TOGETHER. SVART ASKED IF TRUDEAU COULD SHARE WITH THE COUNCIL SOME IDEA OF HOW SELLS THE THEME OF INTERDEPENDENCE OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE TO THE YOUNG GENERATION IN CANADA.

31. THE DUTCH PERMREP (HARTOGH) SAID THAT HE ENVIED CANADA FOR ENJOYING A SITUATION IN WHICH DETENTE DID NOT POSE A POLITICAL PROBLEM. IN THE NETHERLANDS AND OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE YOUNGER GENERATION THINKS THAT DEFENSE EFFORTS MAY BE OBSOLETE AND THAT DETENTE HAS MORE SUBSTANCE THAN IS IN FACT THE CASE. DUTCH YOUNG PEOPLE WANT TO CONCENTRATE NATIONAL EFFORT ON SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND ON OVERCOMING INJUSTICES WITHIN THEIR OWN SOCIETY. HARTOGH ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER HOW ONE CAN EDUCATE PUBLIC OPINION, AND PARTICULARLY YOUTH, TO THE NEED FOR DEFENSE EFFORTS.

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32. AMBASSADOR HARTOGH SAID HE SHARED THE CONCERN OF OTHER SPEAKERS THAT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CAN THREATEN THE ALLIANCE'S COHESION AND STRESSED THAT CLOSE INTERDEPENDENCE WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY. ASKING UNDERSTANDING FOR THE EC-NINE'S SLOWNESS IN ARRIVING AT COMMON POLICIES AFFECTING CANADA, HE ASSURED THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE NETHERLANDS SUPPORTS CANADA'S DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENTS WITH THE NINE AND WAS PREPARED TO GO AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN THIS DIRECTION.

33. THE FRG REP (BOSS) SAID THAT IN HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THE THREAT OF POSSIBLE SOVIET MILITARY ACTION AND ESPECIALLY OF POLITICAL BLACKMAIL IS VERY REAL AND THE WEST IS CONFRONTED BY A RISING SOVIET MILITARY POSTURE. THUS THE FRG IS WORRIED ABOUT THE TENDENCY IN WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION TO LET THE DESIRE FOR DETENTE INTERFERE WITH DEFENSE EFFORTS. RECALLING THAT THE FRG IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAD MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO DETENTE THROUGH ITS OSTPOLITIK, IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WAS POSSIBLE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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A MILITARILY STRONG ALLIANCE. BOSS OPINED THAT THE SAME LOGIC APPLIED TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR AND TO CSCE.

34. VOICING HIS GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT FOR THE PRESENCE OF CANADIAN TROOPS IN EUROPE, THE FRG REP STRONGLY HOPED THE CANADIAN FORCES WOULD STAY AS A MILITARY LINK BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW CONTINENTS. BOSS OPINED THAT ALLIED GOVERNMENTS SHOULD SPEAK FRANKLY TO THEIR PUBLICS ABOUT THE NEED FOR CONTINUED DEFENSE EFFORTS, AND THAT IF THEY DID THIS THERE WAS A FAIR CHANCE THAT PUBLIC OPINION WOULD RECOGNIZE THE NECESSITY FOR CONTINUED EFFORTS.

35. ICELANDIC AMBASSADOR TOMASSON EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR CANADA'S ROLE IN NATO AND ITS DEFENSE EFFORTS IN PARTICULAR.

HE NOTED THAT ICELAND ALMOST ALWAYS AGREES WITH CANADA, EVEN ON FISHERIES MATTERS.

36. LUXEMBOURG PERMREP FISCHBACK REMARKED THAT HIS PRIME MINISTER WAS A PERSONAL FRIEND OF PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU AND THAT THEY SHARED MANY OF THE SAME IDEALS. LUXEMBOURG SUPPORTS CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY, IN PARTICULAR CANADA'S ROLE IN NATO AND ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO CANADA'S MAINTAINING THE LEVEL OF ITS TROOP COMMITMENT. AMBASSADOR DISCHBACH ASKED WHETHER INFLATION WILL HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON CANADA'S DEFENSE EFFORTS AND ON ITS TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

37. SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS NOTED THAT MANY SPEAKERS HAD REPORTED THAT IN THEIR COUNTRIES THERE WAS A DIMINISHING FEAR OF DIRECT, OVERT AGGRESSION FROM THE EAST. IN HIS OPINION, IT WAS DANGEROUS TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION'S IMMENSE MILITARY POTENTIAL AND OF THE FACT THAT, WITHOUT A MILITARY BALANCE, THERE CANNOT BE DETENTE. THERE IS THUS A RISK THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE SUFFER THE FATE OF THE LEMMINGS BY GIVING WAY TO SUICIDAL INSTINCTS.

38. PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU COMMENTED THAT TODAY'S DISCUSSION HAD MET HIS HOPES FOR A PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE. IN ANSWER TO THE DUTCH QUESTION OF HOW TO CONVINCE THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF THE NECESSITY FOR NATO, TRUDEAU REPLIED THAT CANADA'S SOLUTION HAD BEEN TO INCLUDE THE PUBLIC IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. ABOUT CONFIDENTIAL

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FIVE YEARS AGO, THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT HAD CONDUCTED A PUBLIC DEBATE ON DEFENSE QUESTIONS IN WHICH PRACTICAL AS WELL AS PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS WERE EXAMINED. AS A RESULT OF THIS PROCESS, THE PUBLIC REALIZED THAT AS LONG AS MILITARY STRENGTH WAS A FACT IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE, CANADA NEEDED PREJDNNESS. CANADIANS CAME TO UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS MORE EXPENSIVE TO MAINTAIN AN ADEQUATE MILITARY POSTURE AS A NEUTRAL THAN AS A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE. CANADIAN YOUNG PEOPLE THUS GRASPED THAT SUCH OPTIONS AS INCREASED SOCIAL SERVICES MIGHT IN FACT BE LESS AVAILABLE IN A NEUTRAL CANADA THAN IF THEIR COUNTRY REMAINED IN NATO. IN THIS DEBATE, THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT SEEK TO ATTRIBUTED AGGRESSIVE MOTIVES TO THE USSR, BUT TRIED TO MAKE THE PUBLIC AWARE OF THAT COUNTRY'S GREAT MILITARY STRENGTH. THUS, FOR CANADA THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN DEFENSE AND DETENTE, AND CANADA IS NOT SEEKING TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THEM -- IT HAD DECIDED THAT BOTH WERE NEEDED. IF THERE WAS IMPATIENCE WITH NATO AMONG CANADIAN YOUNG PEOPLE, IT FOUND EXPRESSION IN THE VIEW THAT DETENTE WAS NOT PROCEEDING FAST ENOUGH. CANADIAN YOUTH HAD ALSO BEEN CRITICAL OF THE LACK OF DEMOCRACY IN GREECE AND PORTUGAL, BUT THESE WERE NOW FORTUNATELY THINGS OF THE PAST.

39 PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCE LINKS WITH PEOPLE AND PARLIAMENTARIANS, AND IN THIS CONTEXT

HE THOUGHT VISITS TO NATO BY PARLIAMENTARIANS WERE BENEFICIAL. HE NOTED THAT IN THE COURSE OF SUCH VISIT MANY PARLIAMENTARIANS BECAME BETTER INFORMED ON THE FACTS AND FOUND THEIR ANTI-NATO PREJUDICES FALLING AWAY. (COMMENT: SOME OBSERVERS THOUGHT TRUDEAU MIGHT HAVE BEEN DESCRIBING HIS OWN REACTION TO NATO EXPOSURE. END COMMENT) HE THOUGHT IT USEFUL TO PUT PARLIAMENTARIANS INTO A SITUATION OF HAVING TO MAKE CHOICES, AS NATIONAL EXECUTIVES DO, SO THAT THEY COULD BETTER UNDERSTAND NATO'S IMPORTANCE.

40. THE PRIME MINISTER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT INFLATION WAS HAVING AN EFFECT ON THE CANADIAN DEFENSE BUDGET, AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS IN THE PROCESS OF EXAMINING THIS ISSUE. HE SAID OTTAWA WOULD BE REACHING THE DECISION STAGE WITHIN THE NEAR FUTURE AND ASSURED THE ALLIES THEY WOULD BE INFORMED PROMPTLY. HE NOTED

THAT CANADIAN DECISIONS WILL BE STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY THE DECISIONS OF OTHER ALLIES IN THIS SAME DEFENSE SPHERE AND, TO
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ILLUSTRATE HIS POINT, PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU REFERRED TO THE CANADIAN ROLE IN NORAD. HE SAID IT WOULD BE EASY FOR CANADA TO CONCLUDE THAT THE U.S. WOULD CARRY THE WHOLE BURDEN BECAUSE NORAD WAS NEEDED FOR ITS OWN DEFENSE. CANADA HOWEVER, WANTS TO BE A "GOOD MEMBER OF THE CLUB" AND IT WAS THIS MOTIVE WHICH PROMPTED CANADA'S ADEQUATE CONTRIBUTION TO NORAD. IN NATO TOO, IF OTHER ALLIES DO MORE, THIS WOULD HELP CANADA TO PLAY A LARGER MILITARY ROLE. THE PRIME MINISTER CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT CANADA'S POSITION HAD SIMILARITIES WITH THAT OF BELGIUM IN EARLIER YEARS IN THAT, WHATEVER CANADA DID IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, IT WOULD BECOME A BATTLEFIELD IN THE EVENT OF WAR BETWEEN ITS MORE POWERFUL NEIGHBORS.

41. SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, IN CLOSING THE SESSION, SAID HE WAS STRUCK BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMPARISON OF BELGIUM AND CANADA. LUNS RECALLED THAT, THANKS TO BELGIUM MILITARY RESISTANCE IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1914, THE ALLIED ARMIES HAD TIME TO ORGANIZE THEIR DEFENSES AND TURN BACK THE AGGRESSOR. MCAULIFFE

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